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REMARKS

Attached are some items for your information:

- 1) Representative Young's private bill;
- 2) the Representative's remarks upon introduction;
- 3) the conference report on the legislation; and
- 4) the SSCI report on the legislation (there was no HPSCI or other committee report).

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Office of Congressional Affairs

Washington, D.C. 20505

Telephone: 482-6136

13 Aug 1986

TO: Ms. Mary Vinson
Committee on Governmental Affairs
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Ms. Vinson:

In light of your current efforts, I



CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Office of Congressional Affairs

Washington, D.C. 20505

Telephone: 482-6136

13 Aug 1986

TO: Mr. John F. Sopko
Committee on Governmental Affairs
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Mr. Sopko:

In light of your current efforts, I
thought you might find the enclosed bit



CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Office of Congressional Affairs

Washington, D.C. 20505

Telephone: 482-6136

13 Aug 1986

TO: Ms. Eleanore J. Hill
Committee on Governmental Affairs
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Ms. Hill:

In light of your current efforts, I
thought you might find the enclosed bit
of history from the Church Committee
interesting.

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94TH CONGRESS }
2d Session }

SENATE

{ REPORT
No. 94-755 }

FOREIGN AND MILITARY INTELLIGENCE

BOOK 1

FINAL REPORT
OF THE
SELECT COMMITTEE
TO STUDY GOVERNMENTAL OPERATIONS

WITH RESPECT TO
INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES
UNITED STATES SENATE

TOGETHER WITH
ADDITIONAL SUPPLEMENTAL AND SEPARATE
VIEWS



APRIL 26 (legislative day, APRIL 14), 1976

and for cover. Until February 1976, when it announced a new policy toward U.S. media personnel, the CIA maintained covert relationships with about 50 American journalists or employees of U.S. media organizations. *They are part of a network of several hundred foreign individuals around the world who provide intelligence for the CIA and at times attempt to influence foreign opinion through the use of covert propaganda. These individuals provide the CIA with direct access to a large number of foreign newspapers and periodicals, scores of press services and news agencies, radio and television stations, commercial book publishers, and other foreign media outlets.*¹³

The CIA has been particularly sensitive to the charge that CIA covert relationships with the American media jeopardize the credibility of the American press and risk the possibility of propagandizing the U.S. public. Former Director William Colby expressed this concern in recent testimony before the House Select Committee on Intelligence:

We have taken particular caution to ensure that our operations are focused abroad and not at the United States in order to influence the opinion of the American people about things from a CIA point of view.

As early as 1967, the CIA, in the wake of the National Student Association disclosure, moved to flatly prohibit the publication of books, magazines, or newspapers in the United States. More recently, George Bush, the new Director, undertook as one of his first actions to recognize the "special status afforded the American media under our Constitution" and therefore pledged that "CIA will not enter into any paid or contractual relationship with any full-time or part-time news correspondent accredited by any United States news service, newspaper, periodical, radio or television network or station."¹⁴

In approaching the subject of the CIA's relationship with the United States media, the Select Committee has been guided by several broad concerns. It has inquired into the covert publication of propaganda in order to assess its domestic impact; it has investigated the nature and purpose of the covert relationships that the CIA maintains with bona fide U.S. journalists; it has examined the use of journalistic "cover" by CIA agents; it has pursued the difficult issue of domestic "fallout" from CIA's foreign press placements and other propaganda activities. Throughout, it has compared current practice to the regulations restricting activities in this area, in order both to establish whether the CIA has complied with existing regulations, and, more important, in order to evaluate the adequacy of the regulations themselves.

1. Books and Publishing Houses

Covert propaganda is the hidden exercise of the power of persuasion. In the world of covert propaganda, book publishing activities have a special place. In 1961 the Chief of the CIA's Covert Action

¹³ For explanation of footnotes, see p. 179.

¹⁴ George Bush statement, 2/11/76.

Staff, who had responsibility for the covert propaganda program, wrote:

Books differ from all other propaganda media, primarily because one single book can significantly change the reader's attitude and action to an extent unmatched by the impact of any other single medium . . . this is, of course, not true of all books at all times and with all readers—but it is true significantly often enough to make books the most important weapon of strategic (long-range) propaganda.

According to The Chief of the Covert Action Staff, the CIA's clandestine handling of book publishing and distribution could:

(a) Get books published or distributed abroad without revealing any U.S. influence, by covertly subsidizing foreign publications or booksellers.

(b) Get books published which should not be "contaminated" by any overt tie-in with the U.S. government, especially if the position of the author is "delicate."

(c) Get books published for operational reasons, regardless of commercial viability.

(d) Initiate and subsidize indigenous national or international organizations for book publishing or distributing purposes.

(e) Stimulate the writing of politically significant books by unknown foreign authors—either by directly subsidizing the author, if covert contact is feasible, or indirectly, through literary agents or publishers.

Well over a thousand books were produced, subsidized or sponsored by the CIA before the end of 1967. Approximately 25 percent of them were written in English. Many of them were published by cultural organizations which the CIA backed, and more often than not the author was unaware of CIA subsidization. Some books, however, involved direct collaboration between the CIA and the writer. The Chief of the Agency's propaganda unit wrote in 1961:

The advantage of our direct contact with the author is that we can acquaint him in great detail with our intentions; that we can provide him with whatever material we want him to include and that we can check the manuscript at every stage. Our control over the writer will have to be enforced usually by paying him for the time he works on the manuscript, or at least advancing him sums which he might have to repay . . . [the Agency] must make sure the actual manuscript will correspond with our operational and propagandistic intention. . . .

The Committee has reviewed a few examples of what the Chief of the Covert Action Staff termed "books published for operational reasons regardless of commercial viability." Examples included:

(1) A book about the conflict in Indochina was produced in 1954 at the initiation of the CIA's Far East Division. A major U.S. publishing house under contract to the CIA published the book in French and English. Copies of both editions were distributed to foreign embassies

in the United States, and to selected newspapers and magazine editors both in the United States and abroad.

(2) A book about a student from a developing country who had studied in a communist country "was developed by [two area divisions of the CIA] and produced by the Domestic Operations Division . . . and has had a high impact in the U.S. as well as the [foreign area] market." The book, which was published by the European outlet of a U.S. publishing house, was published in condensed form in two major U.S. magazines. Eric Severeid, the CBS political commentator, in reviewing this book, spoke a larger truth than he knew when he suggested that "our propaganda services could do worse than to flood [foreign] university towns with this volume."

(3) Another CIA book, the *Penkovskiy Papers*, was published in the United States in 1965 "for operational reasons", but actually became commercially viable. The book was prepared and written by witting Agency assets who drew on actual case materials. Publication rights to the manuscript were sold to a publisher through a trust fund which was established for the purpose. The publisher was unaware of any U.S. Government interest.

The publishing program in the period before the National Student Association disclosures was large in volume and varied in taste. In 1967 alone the CIA published or subsidized well over 200 books, ranging from books on wildlife and safaris to translations of Machiavelli's *The Prince* into Swahili and works of T. S. Eliot into Russian, to a parody of the famous little red book of quotations from Mao entitled *Quotations from Chairman Liu*.

The publicity which in 1967 surrounded several CIA sponsored organizations and threatened to expose others caused the CIA to act quickly to limit its use of U.S. publishers. In direct response to the Katzenbach report, Deputy Director for Plans Desmond Fitzgerald ordered, "We will, under no circumstances, publish books, magazines or newspapers in the United States."

With this order, the CIA suspended direct publication and subsidization within the United States not only of books, but also of journals and newsletters, including: a magazine published by a United States-based proprietary for cultural and artistic exchange; a newsletter mailed to foreign students studying in North American universities under the sponsorship of a CIA proprietary foundation; and a publication on Latin American affairs published in the United States.

Thus since 1967 the CIA's publishing activities have almost entirely been confined to books and other materials published abroad. During the past few years, some 250 books have been published abroad, most of them in foreign languages.

As previously noted, the CIA has denied to the Committee a number of the titles and names of authors of the propaganda books published since 1967. Brief descriptions provided by the Agency indicate the breadth of subject matter, which includes the following topics, among many others:

- (1) Commercial ventures and commercial law in South Vietnam;
- (2) Indochina representation at the U.N.;
- (3) A memoir of the Korean War;

- (4) The prospects for European union;
- (5) Chile under Allende.

2. Covert Use of U.S. Journalists and Media Institutions

On February 11, 1976, the CIA announced new guidelines governing its relationship with U.S. media organizations:

Effective immediately, CIA will not enter into any paid or contractual relationship with any full-time or part-time news correspondent accredited by any U.S. news service, newspaper, periodical, radio or television network or station.¹⁶

Of the approximately 50 U.S. journalists or personnel of U.S. media organizations who were employed by the CIA or maintained some other covert relationship with the CIA at the time of the announcement, fewer than one-half will be terminated under the new CIA guidelines.

About half of the some 50 CIA relationships with the U.S. media were paid relationships, ranging from salaried operatives working under journalistic cover, to U.S. journalists serving as "independent contractors" for the CIA and being paid regularly for their services, to those who receive only occasional gifts and reimbursements from the CIA.¹⁷

*More than a dozen United States news organizations and commercial publishing houses formerly provided cover for CIA agents abroad. A few of these organizations were unaware that they provided this cover.*¹⁸

Although the variety of the CIA relationships with the U.S. media makes a systematic breakdown of them almost impossible, former CIA Director Colby has distinguished among four types of relationships.¹⁹ These are:

- (1) Staff of general circulation, U.S. news organizations;
- (2) Staff of small, or limited circulation, U.S. publications;
- (3) Free-lance, stringers, propaganda writers, and employees of U.S. publishing houses;
- (4) Journalists with whom CIA maintains unpaid, occasional, covert contact.

While the CIA did not provide the names of its media agents or the names of the media organizations with which they are connected, the Committee reviewed summaries of their relationships and work with the CIA. Through this review the Committee found that as of February 1976:

- (1) The first category, which would include any staff member of a general circulation U.S. news organization who functions as a paid undercover contact of the CIA, appears to be virtually phased out. The

¹⁶ According to the CIA, "accredited" applies to individuals who are "formally authorized by contract or issuance of press credentials to represent themselves as correspondents."

¹⁷ Drawn from "operational case studies" provided to the Committee 12/16/75 and 10/21/75.

¹⁸ For explanation of footnotes, see p. 179.

¹⁹ On November 30, 1973, the *Washington Star-News* reported that Director Colby had ordered a review of CIA media relationships in September of that year, and reported that Colby would phase out the first category but maintain journalists in each of the other three categories. In his testimony to the House Select Committee on Intelligence on November 6, 1975, Colby made a general reference to these categories.